

June 1972

(exact date unknown)

## The 3 R's

# ROTC, RUTGERS, REPRESSION

During the occupations of "Old Queens" (the Rutgers administration building in New Brunswick) and the ROTC building in early May, several documents were liberated and distributed.

For those who want proof of the university's determination to help the military, here is a statement by university president Edward Bloustein in a letter addressed to "Dear General Tackaberry, Dept. of Defense, Washington, D.C.," dated March 28, 1972:

*I am sure you are aware that the Rutgers administration continues to be eager to keep the Air Force and Army ROTC programs on the campus. To that end the Chairman of the Rutgers Board of Governors and two of his fellow Board members held discussions with a Rutgers College Faculty Committee.*

Meanwhile, Bloustein comes out "as an individual" against "this fruitless war" when upstaging student outrage at campus rallies. Had the war been "fruitful"—that is, had it succeeded in enslaving Vietnamese cheap labor for J and J's factories (they do it fruitfully in Thailand)—then Bloustein would obviously not object.

### Complicity is Profitable

The involvement of the University in the war machine is also economic, through its choice of stock investments: Rutgers holds \$1,675,000 in IBM stock and \$347,000 in Honeywell. IBM advertizes itself in the magazine *Army* in this way: "The Army calls it CS3, Combat Service Support System. It's really a standard IBM system/360 on wheels 'ruggedized' for use in the field...We like to go where the action is."

Honeywell is the company which makes the "anti-personnel" cluster bombs used in Vietnam and describes itself to the Army Munitions Command as follows: "Honeywell's ordnance division has been involved in munition R and D and production for many years, and has an excellent record of carrying these munitions and munition components through development into production. In fact, we feel that during the past several years we have emerged as the country's leading developer and supplier of munitions."

"We have a great deal of experience in bomblets...Bomblets, because of their applications, are often required in extremely high production rates and usually at extremely low prices.

"The bomblets saturate the area with flesh-penetrating tiny steel pellets that cannot penetrate cement or steel, that cannot destroy a bridge, a factory or a train—[only flesh and blood]."

### I Spy for the FBI-CIA

The university's intimate connection with the empire extends to the cooperation which it offers to the agencies of repression—the FBI and the CIA—and to the protection which it offers to their agents. Last spring a memo appeared, liberated from the FBI office in Media, Pennsylvania:

*On 2-4-71, Robert Bunker, Assistant Chief, Rutgers Campus Patrol, an established and reliable source (Protect), advised that there is no indication that the above-listed organization is active on either the Rutgers or Livingston College campuses [he's referring to the Panthers]. Bunker advised he would attempt to obtain additional background data on [a sister attending Livingston College].*

*He will obtain background data on subject from high school records and contact with sources. He will conduct credit and identification checks for subject. He will determine from sources whether subject is known to be associated with BPP or similar New Left activities.*

Bunker is of course still in Campus Patrol in New Brunswick. When questioned by reporters from the campus newspaper, he stated: "Public Relations has a statement...I've appeared before the Board...See Public Relations. No more questions."

How interesting to be referred to the Department whose Associate Director, John F. McDonald, has been the man in charge of CIA contacts for the past 15 years, as described in the Rutgers memo reproduced in full on this page. Their business is to keep tabs on faculty members in the sciences, in order to have them serve as informers upon their

congresses. Well, they always told us that science was politically neutral!

### Support Your Local Police

This same public relations man is also the author of a very bright idea on how to make a "better" police department in New Brunswick, for which he got congratulated by Dean K. Wheeler, recently promoted to executive right hand man of the President. Here is the congratulation message, dated Dec. 14, 1970:

*To: John F. McDonald, Associate Director, Public Relations Department.  
From: Kenneth W. Wheeler, Dean.*

*I'm delighted with your efforts to explore with the Ford Foundation funding for a project which would use New Brunswick as a model for upgrading small city police department. You have my enthusiastic support (copies sent to Professor Jack Mar, Mayor Patricia Sheehan, & Dr. James Watson).*

The lucky official receivers of copies of this letter are the Director of the Police Institute of the University, situated on the Camp Kilmer campus, our J and J employee cum Mayor of New Brunswick, and a distinguished Princeton resident, Dr. James Watson, whose title recently changed from Assistant to the President for Federal Legislation to Vice President for University Relations—which is rather intriguing in the present context.

### Who Needs Gays Anyway?

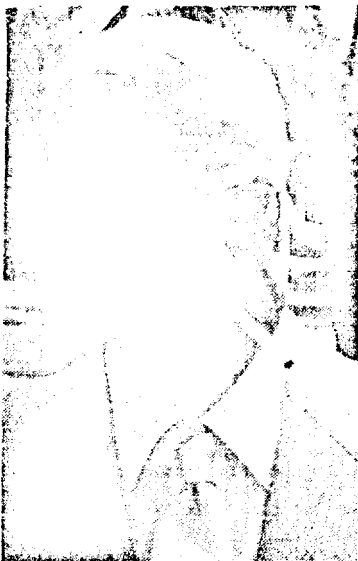
But this limited guided tour through the University's repressive functions would be incomplete without evidence for the direct repression of student activities. Of course we know that the whole set up is one of mind-molding through courses which extoll the capitalist ideology and through the rituals of hourlies and finals which develop competitive values and crippled imaginations. But beyond this, the university, while continuously claiming to respond to student needs and problems, is actually more concerned with its own power and position than anything else. Behold, a letter:

Memorandum To: Dr. Edward J. Bloustein. From: George H. Holsten, Jr. [Director of Public Relations].

I think we can all hope that the "gay cultural exposition" scheduled to be held on campus May 5-7 gets as little publicity attention as possible. If it does get such attention either before or during, I predict some very angry questions from Trenton and even possibly some of our alumni. The fact that SGA [student government at R.U.] is providing the Homophile League with some \$200 out of student fees may also give the Chancellor a new handle for his campaign on the student fee structure, one which would, in my opinion, be a lot easier to grab hold of.

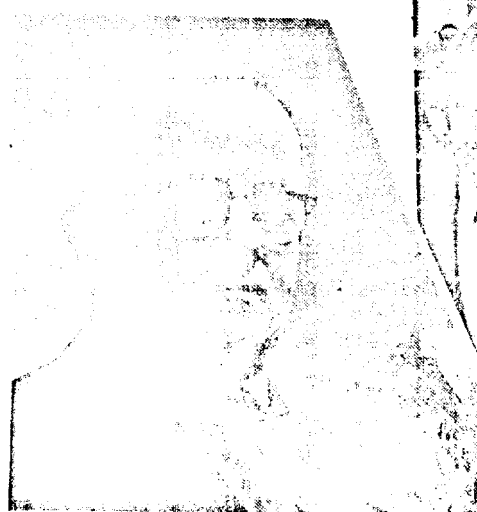
By attempting to suppress publicity of a gay cultural event, the university could keep gay students from coming to something they have an obvious interest in. Here we have a good example of how the administration defines what is important for its students and then forces this definition upon them.

Yes, it is always a good feeling when those in power can be made to show where they stand, in their own words. Let anyone with more information send it our way.



John McDonald

**CIA Contact**



Chief Bunker

**FBI Contact**



Edward Bloustein

**Top Dog**

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY The State University of New Jersey

INTERDEPARTMENT COMMUNICATION  
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC RELATIONS  
October 7, 1971

Memorandum To: Dr. Edward J. Bloustein

From: John F. McDonald

As I indicated to you verbally on Tuesday, we have for many years cooperated with the New York office of the Central Intelligence Agency by inquiring of certain faculty members, upon CIA request, whether they would be willing to be interviewed by the CIA representative who has Rutgers University as one of several assignments. This relationship dates back for at least 15 years to my personal knowledge, but I do not know how it was handled prior to that time when it was transferred to my desk by Mr. Wallace Moreland, Mr. Holsten's predecessor.

The degree of our cooperation has been limited to simply inquiring of faculty members whether or not they would be willing to be interviewed by a representative of a government agency. When the question is asked, as it usually is, as to the nature of the agency, we reply honestly and make it crystal clear to the best of our ability that this is an option entirely up to the faculty members and we do not in any case urge the individual to talk with the CIA representative.

To the best of my knowledge the CIA's interest is exclusively in faculty members in the scientific field who have attended meetings off shore. I am assuming, since the CIA has never offered and we have never inquired, that their interest is in information that might have been exchanged with other scientists, presumably representing countries which might some day be enemy nations.

We have also upon request from time to time sent copies of releases which were sent to the press concerning the work of individuals, ordinarily ones which were of indicated interest for interviews. We also have answered upon occasions questions as to whether or not an individual was a natural-born American citizen.

The individuals who call on us have in each case when a new president took office requested an appointment so that they might make clear to the president the nature of their business on the campus. Mr. William Myers, who is currently assigned to Rutgers, would appreciate the opportunity to visit you for this purpose.

We have, as I indicated, had but one inquiry from Mr. Myers since Labor Day and we have not responded to it pending this check with you.

bl.cc: Mr. Holsten

The CIA document liberated from Rutgers' administration building

# The Sad Rites of Spring- Renewed Brings Renewed Protests to Rutgers

As yet another spring brought yet another escalation in the Vietnam war, campuses throughout the United States last week again resounded with student protests. Rutgers was no exception.

A student takeover of the main administration building, Old Queens, another of the ROTC building, the blocking of the main north-south line of the Penn-Central Railroad, and a series of small but frequent protests marked the first days of the month of May at the University.

"I don't think that protesting against the University is going to end the war in Vietnam," said Dr. Edward Bloustein during one of the demonstrations. But a group of students, numbering between 50 and 500, made the University the target for a series of encounters.

While refusing to concede any of the demands made during various protests, Dr. Bloustein stressed his personal pain at the continuation of the war and, as evidence, gave original impetus to the Committee of Concerned New Jersey College and University Citizens. They planned the "journey for peace" to Washington on May 18, to meet with the New Jersey Congressional delegation and speak with them about national foreign policy.

The war protests at the New Brunswick campus of the University began in earnest during the night of May 9-10 when news reports of the shooting of two students in Albuquerque and of the re-escalation of the Vietnam war resulted in an apparently unorganized gathering of Rutgers students who paraded through the city. Reports of the size of the group varied from 500 to 1,000.

Shortly after midnight, demonstrators entered Old Queens building by prying open a window. Several hundred students gathered in the building and, throughout most of the night, debated a series of demands.

At the direction of President Bloustein, representatives of the dean of students office and members of the Campus Patrol were in the building throughout most of the night. What damage was done seemed to have occurred during the earliest moments of the protest, before their arrival.

Early in the morning of May 10, President Bloustein came to Queens

building and spent nearly two hours discussing their demands with the students. The students' demands were as follows:

1. The University, not President Bloustein as an individual, make a statement condemning the war and President Nixon's recent escalation of the war.
2. That the University sell any stock it owns in war-related industries and discontinue any Federal government research concerning the U.S. military.
3. That ROTC be abolished.
4. That students be allowed the option of not completing exams and papers, so that they might be free to help in the work of ending the war.

After hearing the students' demands and discussing them at some length, Dr. Bloustein made it clear that the time the students would be allowed to conduct their meeting in the building was limited, and that, very shortly, they would have to leave. Shortly thereafter the students did leave the building, saying that they would organize a rally in front of Old Queens later in the morning.

At Dr. Bloustein's suggestion, some of the students, as they left Old Queens, left contributions to pay for the cost of the damage which had occurred.

In both his comments to the students and later in remarks to the University Senate which was in session during May 10, Dr. Bloustein made the following points:

First, he noted that he could not speak for the entire University or commit the University to a political position. He has frequently spoken of his own strong opposition to the escalation of the war.

On the second demand, he noted that, at his suggestion, the Board of Governors was about to establish a committee on University investment policies and that it has been a number of years since the University has permitted any secret research to be done here. (The Board did establish such a committee and approved a policy statement on outside funding of research, see letter from Dean Torrey on page 8.)

In response to the demand for removal of ROTC from campus, President Bloustein said he believed the University had a much greater impact of a "humanizing"

nature on ROTC than ROTC had in "militarizing" the University, thus he could not agree with the students' demand. At its meeting Friday the Board of Governors made a policy statement on ROTC. (See story page 5)

The president said he could not recommend the dropping of the requirement for completing exams and papers, but that he would suggest a "flexible" policy.

On the urging of both Dr. Bloustein and of Dr. Henry Winkler, senior vice president for academic affairs, the University Senate approved the following by a voice vote at its May 10 meeting:

"It is the sense of the University Senate that faculty members be urged to give students as much leeway as possible in fulfilling their academic requirements for the next two weeks. When students feel that their expression of conscience requires them to miss examinations, term papers, etc. In no case should this resolution be considered a moratorium on the proper fulfillment of academic obligations."

On Wednesday evening, Dr. Bloustein and a group of students, faculty and administrators organized the Committee of Concerned New Jersey College and University Citizens and set about enlisting members of all of New Jersey's institutions of higher education to journey to Washington on Thursday, May 18, and to meet with the State's Congressional delegation. This *Newsletter* went to press before that date, so details on the peace journey cannot be included here.

On May 10, a group of about 25 students took over the ROTC building on the Rutgers College campus and remained in it until Thursday afternoon when a statement from the executive committee of the University Senate was read to them by Dr. Henry Winkler. That evening, students at one point blocked traffic on College Avenue.

On the morning of May 11, a group of roughly 70 students went to the train station at New Brunswick, and about 20 of them blocked the northward movement of the trains. Eighteen students were arrested by the police.

A group of about 100 protestors attended the meeting of the Board of Governors and presented their demands.

Continued

In addition to the original issues, the students raised issues on the basis of documents which they had taken from University files during the Old Queens takeover.

Their key objection was to a letter from a member of the Public Relations staff inquiring of President Bloustein whether the University's past practice of asking faculty members whether they wished to speak with members of the CIA who had requested such interviews, would be continued. In answer to that memo, Dr. Bloustein had indicated that he did not wish the practice to continue.

Archibald Alexander, speaking for the Board, said that it is University policy that any member of any recognized law enforcement agency is free to approach any member of the Rutgers community, but the University will henceforth act neither to help nor to impede such inquiries.

He announced the appointment of a six-member committee to study where the University invests its money and if any stock investments should be sold because the company produces war-related products. He said the study would take two or three months at the most.

In replying to student demands that all Department of Defense research contracts awarded to the University be abolished, Alexander said that "the object of none of them is to create something that can be used for war." At present Rutgers has 14 such contracts totaling \$599,773.

Alexander, in answering student demands that the Board take a strong stand against the war, said that the Board felt it was not its business to do so, but that members are free to make statements as private individuals.

Guerilla theater found its way into the Board room when the protesting students brought in the body of a young man, made up to look like a war victim, and deposited it on the middle of the Board table so that, throughout the session, Board and students confronted each other across this symbol of the war.

A tense situation developed on Friday night, May 12, when a crowd of several hundred students gathered in the College Avenue area and threw rocks at various army and air force installations. Several Campus Patrolmen were hit, but all injuries were minor.

Numbers of New Brunswick and State Police were available, but the crowd quieted, in large part through the efforts of the Community Action Committee, a group of faculty and students who mingled with the crowd and calmed it.

About 400 demonstrators, most of them from Rutgers-Newark and city high schools, marched on the Federal Building in Newark on May 11. They heard

speeches condemning President Nixon's latest escalation of the war and his involvement with large business corporations.

Following the rally, the demonstrators marched down Broad Street about a half-mile to Military Park for another gathering. Traffic was stalled at noon. Near the park, a small group of demonstrators blocked the intersection of Broad Street and Raymond Blvd. before being dispersed by police. There were no arrests or injuries.

At Rutgers-Newark on May 10, 350 students and faculty members of the Law School signed a petition condemning President Nixon (for his) "irresponsible usurpation of power" in calling for the harbor blockades and bombing.

About 100 law students and teachers met to discuss legal action to end the U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia.

Faculty members from all units at Rutgers-Newark met May 11 to discuss implementation of the resolution passed by the University Senate the day previously. Student representatives also attended.

There were no anti-war protests on the Camden campus.

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# Queens memos say RU aided CIA, helped Defense Dept.

Confidential correspondence, apparently taken from files in Old Queens, indicate that the University cooperated with the Central Intelligence Agency for at least 15 years until University President Edward Bloustein put an end to it last October, and engaged in contracts with the defense department.

In addition, other documents indicated that the University administration wanted to suppress publicity of a Gay Cultural Exposition earlier this month, planned to lie if necessary to keep students from interfering with noise tests concerning Route 18, and regularly had the public relations department collect "intelligence" on the University community.

Some of the memorandums were read to the Board of Governors at its meeting Friday. Bloustein denounced the invasion of privacy, saying that members of the administration had a right to expect confidential correspondence be kept private. He said later that the documents appeared to be authentic.

## Came from Old Queens

Student leaders said the documents, which they said they themselves did not take, were procured from Old Queens late Tuesday night when the building was occupied by anti-war demonstrators. Most of them came from the files of the Public Relations department on the third floor.

A memo dated October 7, 1971, from John McDonald, associate director of public relations, to Bloustein explained that the University "for many years cooperated with the New York office of the Central Intelligence Agency by inquiring of certain faculty members, upon CIA request, whether they would be willing to be interviewed by the CIA representative who has Rutgers University as one of several assignments." The memo indicated that the cooperation went back at least 15 years.

According to the memo, the degree of cooperation was limited to only asking faculty members whether they would consent to be interviewed by a representative of a government agency.

## Bloustein stops CIA contact

A notation of the memo from Bloustein says he saw no reason to cooperate with the CIA and ordered the practice stopped.

Another document obtained was a list of research and training contracts and grants. Included were expenditures for a "Herbicide Research Fund" for the

last half of 1969, as well as 14 current projects for the Department of Defense totaling \$599,773.

Bloustein said that presently there is no war-related or secret research going on in the University, and that the list the students had was a matter of public record.

Students contend that items for titanium, which they say is used for weapons, and one for biochemical changes in bird tissue, which they affirm could have implications for biochemical warfare, are definitely war related.

A memo from George Holsten, director of public relations, to Bloustein dated April 19, 1972, said that the University administration "can all hope that the cultural exposition scheduled to be held on campus May 5-7 gets as little publicity attention as possible." The memo said that repercussions from the state, alumni, and state chancellor of higher education Ralph Dungan might result.

## Dungan attack

Holsten also wrote that Dungan might use the fact that the Student Government Association allocated \$200 to the Student Homophile League as part of his attack on the student fee structure.

A memo from McDonald to Maurice Ayres, assistant to Bloustein, dated March 17, 1972, gave suggestions on "disarming" the Rutgers Student Committee on Route 18 (RSCORE), including inviting them to a student meeting, and having Bloustein, if possible, chair the meeting.

McDonald stressed that students should be told that the noise tests to be taken behind Frelinghuysen could not be affected by having students rev up engines in the parking lot behind the dormitory. "I presume this is so," McDonald wrote, "and even if it is not, we might say that it is while detailing the technical aspects of the project."

A last memo, obtained by the *Targum*, and dated February 22, 1972, is from Holsten to Bloustein. "Not much to report in the way of upcoming problems but here are a few bits of intelligence which may be helpful," the memo started, indicating that the public relations department regularly reported on events to Bloustein.

Among other items, Holsten gave Bloustein brief sketches on Dean Parancas, editor-in-chief of *Targum*, and William Barrett, managing editor, both of whom were newly elected at the time.

STATINTL

Also a body

STATINTL

# Board faced with demands, emotions

By JAMES ROBBINS

"Imperialism strangles the people of the world but the people fight back."

Chanting these words as they solemnly carried a bandaged, bloodied "body", anti-war protestors, numbering between 75 and 100, met with the University Board of Governors Friday afternoon.

The demonstrators placed what was characterized as "one of the many bodies found all over the world" on a table before the 13 governors, including University President Edward Bloustein.

## Emotional scene

This Vietnam effigy set the tone for this session, at times, a scene of extreme emotion and desperation as each side attempted to understand the feelings of the other. The philosophical and political role of the University during wartime as either an education institution or as merely an institution of the State of New Jersey was a universal question.

Earlier in the day, the protestors had issued a list of demands to the Board, and the afternoon session, held after the Board's regular meeting, was for the purpose of officially answering the demands.

The demands called for an end to University relations with the CIA, the abolition of ROTC, and end to Defense Department research contracts, an end to war-related stock investments, and a publicized University stand against the Vietnam war.

As for the demand regarding the CIA, Bloustein said the University will not "act as a conduit, a communications arm for the CIA."

## Unacceptable

They refused to accept the Board's decision regarding ROTC "in light of the fact that ROTC is the cause of bodies like this [pointing to the painted student] around the world," according to Rutgers College history teaching assistant Doug Seaton.

Archibald Alexander, Board chairman and former U.S. under-secretary of the Army, read the six-part proposal, that they had just approved, saying that ROTC

will remain on campus but will be given "E" credit.

"In other words, [the Board means] no," said Roger Kranz '72.

Alexander, answering to the issue of investments with war-related industries, said that a committee has been appointed to investigate investments and make recommendations back to the Board within "two or three months."

The crowd retaliated with moans and groans of dismay at this decision.

"Do you know how many bombs are dropped and how many people are killed in two or three months?", one student asked.

## "Concrete gesture"

Lee Wiener, former sociology professor at Livingston College, asked the Board to make "a concrete gesture in that direction right now."

The issue of whether the University should assume a stand against the war proved to be the most controversial and emotional topic.

Bloustein said "the Board can and will not take a stand collectively, although some of us have already stated a position as individuals."

Wiener, puzzled and visibly shaken, asked Bloustein: "Aren't you concerned that 30 years from now you too will write memoirs about how you were personally opposed to a system of oppression, but somehow in the institutions you participated in didn't do anything?"

Bloustein dryly reiterated the University's position, saying that "any attempt to take a position officially on this issue will destroy the values of free inquiry in this institution and others."

Weiner then made a comparison between the stand taken by German universities during the Nazi era and with the present situation.

"The difference between you and I," Bloustein said, "is that I don't think we're in the position of Nazi Germany."

Joseph Pollack '72, in another emotional tirade, condemned the Board's "intellectual

dogmatism," and pleaded for a "feeling for the human condition."

He then proceeded to shake the hands of each Board member in a symbol of mutual dedication in helping to end war.

Pertaining to the demand to end all Defense Department-related research, Alexander said that the contracts with the DOD are not for the purpose of creating anything that "has direct offense application."

The demonstrators disagreed saying that anything related to the DOD is related to war.

Alexander adjourned the meeting. The protestors, picking up the "body" that did not move throughout the meeting, chanted "Rotcee must go! Rotcee must go!" as the governors filed out of the room.

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EVANSVILLE, IND.  
 COURIER MAY 12 1972  
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 COURIER & PRESS  
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## Assembly At SIU Peaceful

By A Courier Staff Writer

CARBONDALE, Ill. — About 400 demonstrators gathered in front of the president's office at Southern Illinois University here Thursday evening for a peaceful 45-minute show of disapproval of the Indochina war and the SIU Vietnam Study Center.

The display came in the wake of more violent action Wednesday night when 1,500 students ignored an 11 p.m. curfew—resulting in 54 arrests — and \$5,000 damage to store windows in the downtown area.

SIU president David Derge condemned the rampage as the “work of small destructive groups which has been attempting to perpetrate such violence for more than a month.”

One of the demands of the group Thursday night was that assistant philosophy professor Doug Allen be reinstated and given the tenure he was refused in February for “subversive influence upon students,” a source said.

### CIA Backed

The demonstrators also called for a severance of ties between the University and the SIU Vietnam study Center — A research program accused by the protesters of being “a CIA backed agency.”

The SIU Student senate voted Thursday afternoon to help pay the \$5,000 window damage in the 15 stores and to condemn the Wednesday demonstration and warn students against participating in further night protests.

Derge said the candlelight rally which preceded the violence in the downtown area was sanctioned by the student government and peaceful.

He placed the number of the group at a maximum of 200 persons and said members have allied themselves with Allen whose tenure has been denied and who is greatly opposed to the Vietnamese Studies Center on campus.

Derge said it was “regrettable” the violence occurred “in the company of a large number of persons who themselves were not bent on violence.”

Carbondale authorities placed the number of persons on the streets during the rampage at 2,000.

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# Antiwar forces hit the streets

## Strike called, new actions set

By Irwin Silber

Massive, nationwide protests against the U.S. escalation of the Indochina War—and particularly the renewed bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong—are developing a vigorous momentum.

At Guardian press time (April 19), actions, demonstrations, strikes and rallies had been reported from more than 50 cities and scores of college campuses.

The antiwar response was focusing on three main actions:

—A nation-wide student strike called for April 21, by the National Student Association (NSA) in conjunction with more than 30 student government presidents.

—The April 22 mass marches and rallies in New York and Los Angeles called by the National Peace Action Council (NPAC) and a similar action in San Francisco under the auspices of the Anti-Imperialist Coalition. All sectors of the antiwar movement were uniting in support of these demonstrations.

—An Emergency National Antiwar Moratorium calling for one-hour (noon to 1 p.m.) rallies, work stoppages and similar actions on May 4, the second anniversary of the Kent State murders.

### Strike wave builds on campuses

The April 21 student strike, called on one week's notice, was shaping up as the most massive outpouring of campus antiwar protest since the spring of 1970 when student reaction to the invasion of Cambodia virtually shut down the nation's colleges for more than a week.

Even before the national strike date, a wave of strikes and other militant actions began erupting on campuses across the country. As of noon on April 18, students were already reported out or taking strike votes at Columbia University, Stanford, the University of Illinois in Champaign, University of Wisconsin, Amherst College and Chicago Theological School. Groups of students at Colgate University, N.Y., and Grinnell College, Iowa, were reported on hunger strikes. From Boston came a report that demonstrating students at Holy Cross University had set fire to the ROTC building on campus.

At the same time, campus demonstrations spilled out onto the streets in Washington, D.C. where students at American University blocked traffic on Massachusetts Avenue and at the University of Maryland where students severed Route 1 and temporarily stopped traffic on this key interstate artery. Police opened it up again with tear gas.

At Harvard, students briefly occupied the university's Center for International Affairs,

accused of being a training center for CIA agents among other things. About 200 students broke into the building while another 300 remained outside. Office equipment was damaged or tossed out windows and antiwar slogans were spraypainted on walls inside. A small fire was reportedly set but it was quickly put out.

The building occupation came early in the evening April 18 when the 500 students broke away from a larger march of 2000 people who were marching from the Boston Commons to Harvard Square. Police in riot gear sealed off the square, fired tear gas and arrested at least two persons. A 9 p.m. to 5 a.m. curfew also was imposed. With the square sealed off, other students marched into the business district of Cambridge, Mass., where they broke windows in the post office building, several stores and an IBM office.

The protests were started by 1000 students and other young people at the University of Wisconsin in Madison who marched on the State Capitol on April 13 in a demonstration against the bombing called by the student government and several local government officials. The demonstrators invaded bank offices, rallied on the state capitol grounds and burned an effigy of Nixon. At one point they overran police lines. Four days later, more than 3000 youths in Madison marched on the University's ROTC building and smeared blood on the walls.

Major actions were also reported at Columbia University in New York City (April 17) where 2000 students marched down Broadway to demonstrate against the bombing of Haiphong; the University of Florida in Gainesville, University of Chicago, San Francisco State, Brown, Holy Cross, Boston U., Utah and dozens of others.

A representative of NSA told the Guardian that more than 200 colleges and universities were expected to shut down on April 21 in response to the strike call. Student newspapers at eight Ivy League Colleges—Brown, Columbia, Cornell, Dartmouth, Harvard, Pennsylvania, Princeton and Yale—carried a joint editorial endorsing the April 21 strike.

### April 22: Mass protests

Meanwhile, the April 22 mass demonstrations in New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco were shaping up into massive outpourings of protest. Originally seen as actions of somewhat modest proportions the three marches and rallies were building into huge demonstrations. Many tens of thousands of protesters who had been at best lukewarm about the mass marches, were now planning to participate and help

build the actions as the most immediate and effective response to the renewed bombings.

NPAC reported that its offices were being flooded with endorsements of the April 22 demonstrations by labor leaders, congressional figures, civic officials, student leaders, cultural figures and others. Among the most recent endorsers are Victor Reuther of the United Automobile Workers Union and Victor Gottbaum of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Senators Gravel, Hart, Hartke, Mondale and Muskie; Wendell Anderson, the Governor of Minnesota; also Betty Friedan, Joseph Heller, Bess Meyerson, Arthur Miller, Kate Millet, Huey Newton and William Styron.

Original estimates of a march of 50,000 in New York, 10,000 in Los Angeles and 20,000 in San Francisco were being revised upward by the hour. More than 100,000 are expected to throng the streets of New York on April 22. Large delegations of demonstrators from Boston, Cleveland, Philadelphia and cities in Connecticut, New Jersey and upper New York State were making plans to come to the New York action.

A key factor in the developing support for the April 22 demonstrations was the renewed "vigorous support" given the actions by both the national office and regional offices of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ). At a press conference in New York City, PCPJ spokesman David McReynolds restated the organization's call for "full support to April 22." He urged all antiwar forces to participate in the action.

Among the contingents planning to participate in the New York march was the Attica Brigade. Describing itself as "an anti-imperialist coalition," the group plans to carry flags of the National Liberation Front and to demonstrate with slogans of support for the Vietnamese liberation struggle and support for the liberation struggles of oppressed peoples at home. The group, which expects upward of 3000 people to march together in a disciplined fashion, expressed full support of the rally. Asked about charges that the contingent had disrupted the Nov. 6 antiwar assembly in Central Park, Attica Brigade representatives denied the accusations and stated that they were opposed to any disruptive actions directed against the April 22 demonstration.

### Moratorium called

The May 4 Emergency Moratorium is being organized by a group of individuals associated with the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C., in conjunction with the NSA and some of the

continued



# Chinese Full of Questions About U.S.

STATINTL

By Richard Bernstein  
Special to The Washington Post

*The writer recently spent five weeks in China with a delegation of Concerned Asian Scholars.*

PEKING—Most Chinese are very curious about the United States. At first, however, they are often shy about asking questions of the rare American visitor they encounter.

But once the ice has been broken and the Chinese reserve overcome, questions put to Americans in China are likely to be numerous and varied.

The questions, moreover, often say more about the way Chinese look at America than the visitor's answers are likely to tell him about what America is like.

The most common question I heard in China was "What are the conditions of the American peasantry?"

One has to allow for the fact that in Chinese there is no way of distinguishing farmer from peasant.

## Concern About Farming

Still, people who live in a country where 85 per cent of the population consists of peasants are bound to be concerned with agrarian life in the United States, even after they learn that only 6 per cent of Americans earn their living by farming.

## Many Questions

In Shenyang, in the northeast province of Liaoning, officials in the Ministry of Industry and Agriculture asked me a long series of questions about American agriculture.

They wanted to know the size of the average farm, the proportion of farm laborers to farm owners, and the average yield per acre of various crops.

They also asked questions with a historical perspective: What is the size of the average farm, and how

much has it increased over the past several decades?

Large theoretical questions, phrased quite naturally in Marxist terms, were also frequent.

"Can you describe the American social structure?" was one request I met with a couple of times. Or, "What is the form of struggle of the American working class?"

Workers, as one might expect, ask questions about workers, such as how much they make, whether they live in dormitories, and whether workers can be fired at the whim of their employer.

In a workers' dormitory where I lived for two nights, the three young men with whom I shared a room had lots of specific questions about salaries, rents, the prices of food and clothing.

## Rent \$1

In the dormitory, they pay about \$1 a month for rent and about \$7 for food out of their monthly \$20 salaries. Their response on being told American prices was to report quite proudly, "We always thought Americans were very rich people. But now we see that your life is actually much more difficult than ours."

When I pointed out that many American workers were actually well off by comparison with Chinese workers, they countered, "But American workers don't own the means of production like Chinese workers do. They are still exploited."

At Wuhan and Peking Universities, many people wanted to know about the American student movement, its tactics and organizations.

"Now," I was asked frequently, "can the students be openly opposed to the Vietnam war and still remain in the United States?"

## 'Serve the People'

A couple of times after hearing the International, the world Communist anthem, students and workers both wanted to know if the song could be sung openly in the United States. Some seemed a bit dubious when I claimed it could.

At the universities, questions about teaching methods, curriculum and student-teacher relations are comparatively rare. So are questions about students' future plans. In fact, if a Chinese

is asked what he wants to do after graduation, his reply more often than not will be: "That depends on the needs of the state. I'll do whatever I can to serve the people."

Only once did somebody state a specific choice for the future. A young female student at Peking University who had been a barefoot doctor in the countryside told me she hoped to become a doctor after graduation.

There are also a lot of detailed questions. Shih Yung-Chih, an old Honan peasant at whose home I lived for a couple of days, was interested in knowing how old people live to be in America and how far it is from the eastern to the western borders. He also asked how cold it gets in winter, on what kind of beds Americans sleep, and whether they eat primarily millet or wheat for breakfast.

He also wanted to know how much my watch, my camera and my coat cost. And he was very curious to know why, when I detached my camera lens and held it at arm's length, the image appeared upside down.

At the university, I met several professors who had received their Ph.D.s at American universities before the Chinese revolution. They asked primarily after people they had known, especially after their old American teachers, many of whom had died. Others, I had never even heard of.

The most informed and

searching questions anybody asks in China are those of Premier Chou En-lai's. In a recent interview with a delegation of the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, the premier remarked that he has not yet had a chance to go to the United States, though many Americans have come to China. Until then, he added, discussions in Peking would have to serve as his window on the West.

With that brief preface, the premier launched into a series of casual, but penetrating, questions about various aspects of American life. He asked about pollution, about industry, about social changes in American cities. He also wanted to know if there was a CIA agent this year studying at the Harvard East Asian Research Center.

To those who had been to Taiwan, he asked about the conditions of life there and whether Taiwanese students would like to visit the mainland.

And he admitted that the Chinese know little about the West and that they should know more.

The discussion was informal, but Chou was not making small talk. His questions were searching, and he built succeeding questions on prior responses. He was not satisfied with easy generalizations.

The premier was relaxed and gracious. But one thing was clear. He, like many Chinese, wanted to know.

OCT 15 1970

M - 237,967

S - 566,377

## FBI takes over investigation of MIT blast

By John F. Wood  
Globe Staff

The FBI has taken charge of the investigation into a bomb explosion which ripped a suite of offices at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology around 1:15 yesterday morning.

The explosion caused an estimated \$35,000 damage to the fourth floor of the Grover M. Hermann Building, which houses MIT's political science department and Center for International Studies.

A year ago Wednesday, a similar explosion occurred at Harvard's Center for International Affairs. A women's revolutionary group claimed responsibility for that blast.

After a preliminary investigation yesterday, state Atty. General Ralph Garrett acknowledged that there were similarities between the two bombings. The same type of explosive device — a metal pipe filled with black powder and attached to a timing mechanism — was used in each case, he said.

Yesterday afternoon, 21 FBI agents superseded state and local authorities at the scene and began sifting debris for fragments of the explosive device. Congress recently authorized the FBI to investigate explosions of suspicious origin at institutions receiving Federal funds.

The bomb apparently was planted above a false ceiling in a ladies' room in the northwest corner of the building. The explosion destroyed the washroom and glass, plywood partitions and furniture in a reception area across the hall.

A 20-foot length of corridor was blackened and a desk 15 feet from the point of the blast was almost demolished. Ceiling panels, electrical wiring, and filing drawers were also destroyed.

Beyond the reception area, three offices were seriously damaged. One belonged to political science Prof. Willard R. Johnson; another was recently vacated by Alan A. Altshuler, who is Gov. Sargent's secretary for transportation and construction.

A fourth office, shared by former undersecretary of state William P. Bundy, suffered minor damage.

Several other well-known professors, including Daniel Ellsberg, George W. Rathjens and William W. Kaufman, have offices on the same floor.

Recent student demonstrations against the Center for International Studies suggested to investigators that the bombing was directed against conservative faculty members working for the CIS.

MIT chancellor Paul E. Gray denied that the bombing was selective, however. "I am at a loss to explain this wanton and senseless act of destruction. It appears to have no specific target," he said.

Jerome Wiesner, MIT president, agreed that the explosion was "probably just general harassment."

"The thing that troubles us most is that ... either because the bomb was poorly constructed, or because someone was callous, there was no real evacuation time," Wiesner told a meeting of students and faculty.

An anonymous, female caller warned the MIT

newspaper of the impending explosion shortly before smoke sensors in the building alerted the Cambridge fire department.

"Listen. I have something important to tell you. There's a bomb in the Hermann Building. It's going to go off in ten minutes. Clear everyone out. We are the sisters of ..." the caller told MIT operator Beulah Welch.

The woman's voice trailed off, as if she was in a hurry to leave the phone, and her last words were unintelligible. Her mispronunciation of the name of the building indicated to police that the caller was not familiar with MIT.

The interval between the call and the explosion was actually "an absolute maximum of five minutes, and probably no more than two," according to MIT vice president John M. Wynne.

"The danger to our people, had there been any in the building, upsets us a great deal," Wiesner said. "We can rebuild buildings, but it is difficult to repair the damage to people."

The Hermann Building is accessible to some MIT personnel at all times, and at least one staff member was in the building the night before the explosion. Asked why the building was not locked at night, Wynne said: "It's not our style."

Special security precautions were taken at MIT after the explosion at Harvard a year ago; a full-time guard patrolled the building, and students were required to show identification before entering. These precautions were discontinued in May.

Wynne said increased security will be renewed on some buildings "although obviously I can't tell you which ones." He denied reports that the FBI has taken over security arrangements in areas where government research is

done. The Hermann Building is in the east corner of the MIT campus, just off Kendall square. A night watchman and several students in an adjacent dormitory reported having heard the explosion.

The watchman, Clayton Whittaker of Bowdoin street, Boston, told police he had checked the Hermann Building at 12:25 a.m. and found nothing amiss during a 20-minute inspection tour.

Two hours after the explosion, another caller — a man with a foreign accent — warned the MIT switchboard that "building 19 and 20 are the next to go." Police searched both buildings, but found nothing suspicious.

The Center for International Affairs at Harvard was bombed Oct. 14, 1970. An organization identifying itself as "The Proud Eagle Tribe, a group of revolutionary women," claimed to have carried out the bombing.

MIT's Center for International Studies was founded in 1951, with funds provided in part by the Central Intelligence Agency. The CIA provided no funds after 1951, and the center now does no classified research, according to MIT spokesman Robert Byers.

The center has no teaching program of its own, and relies on the political science and economics departments for most of its senior staff. Its current research topics include economic and political development of Asia, Africa and Latin America; international communications; communism, revisionism and revolution and American foreign and defense policy.

In 1969 and again in 1970, students took over the CIS office for several hours, claiming that work done at the center was prolonging the war in Indochina.

LOS ANGELES, CAL.  
HERALD-DISPATCH  
OCT 7 1971  
SEMIWEEKLY - 35,000

STATINTL



# Political Rundown



Breast-beating white liberals — liberals today, neo-fascists tomorrow — are having a field day with the Attica N.Y. prison situation. On Thursday, October the 12, Channel 28 (KCET) in Los Angeles, will air or rap on the officials in New York; what caused Attica, why the uprising. None of them will really tell you it was plotted, planned from the beginning with the specific purpose of getting rid of Nelson Rockefeller as a potential candidate for the presidency in 1972.

While we were on the issue of Channel 28, we understand that they went digging for "Black Pride." Ladies and gentlemen, where do you think Channel 28 is digging for black pride? In Africa? No, indeed, Channel 28 went to Brooklyn, New York to dig for black pride, and they came up with a group of black journalists employed by black front newspapers to discuss "black journal."

The black Journal Project deals allegedly with black newspapers throughout the nation. The question, which came to our mind, is how can these people working for newspapers, that are owned by caucasians and fronted by blacks call themselves Black journalists. They do, this is one of the events of our time.

It appears that things are popping in the Watts-Willowbrook area, particularly around Grape Street School.

Our readers will recall last spring that there were some problems at Grape Street School and illness due to fowl food. Some of the parents objected, and the STAR-REVIEW ran the news.

The Principal of Grape Street School came to the conclusion — that one teacher, very well-liked by the children, the Rev. Lloyd Wilkins, should be fired.

Mrs. Carrie Haynes, the Principal, maintained that Rev. Wilkins gave the STAR-REVIEW the news of the bad food, the poisoned food, which made several children ill.

Mrs. Haynes became famous through her Time Magazine article in which she ripped her black faculty apart with such statements as they were "incompetent" and — "You will never be permanent if you do not learn to respect me." We believe its unfortunate that blacks spend so much time fighting each other but they do.

This Editor explained in person to Mrs. Haynes that Rev. Wilkins did not give us the news relative to the poison food which she served to the black children in that community. Indeed we did get the news, but not from Wilkins. None the less, since Wilkins, according to her own statement, was one of her best teachers, she wanted him removed and worked with the white superintendent to have him transferred. Mr. Wilkins belongs to a Union, which we understand sold him out and went along with the white superintendent.

We have always distrusted Unions — they are a part of the establishment and will sell you out quicker than the establishment when the chips are down.

## CHICANOS VS. BLACKS

The danger of Chicanos and Blacks fighting is eminent, as pointed out by the HERALD-DISPATCH from time to time. Now comes the EYOA mess. This poverty program has always been used by the establishment to put the two largest minorities in the state of California against each other. If these two could work together, they could both come up out of the mud.

The Chicano Employees of the local poverty EYOA walked out in protest over the alleged discriminatory hiring practices

According to reports, Mr. Salvador Velasquez, Associated Deputy Director of EYOA led the protest. Velasquez was formerly Executive Director of Rio Hondo, Community Action Agency, located in East L.A. The same source has revealed that neither Rio Hondo or the former Eastland Community AA ever employed any blacks while Velasquez was the Director.

The HERALD DISPATCH concludes that Velasquez is saying to the black Director, Ernest Sprinkles, who hired him in the first place, "Nigger this is my way of showing my appreciation to you for hiring me. I never hired any of your people when I had the power to do so."

Furthermore, Velasquez should try to be smart enough to realize that the establishment is trying to close the project to put both blacks and chicanos into the streets. Both groups are discriminated against. When it comes to hiring, and give the unions credit, they hire whites. Neither blacks nor Chicanos, some think so, are considered white when it comes to hiring.

We think the Chicanos and Blacks should try to work together for their own good.

## UCLA'S EFFICIENCY

We suggest that the public investigate our statements. UCLA the school where Angela Davis was fired from her professor's position is credited with turning out more and efficient Spies than any other college or university in the United States. UCLA graduated Ron Karenga and he became, before graduating, one of CIA'S most efficient Spies.

It appears from investigation that UCLA works hand and hand with the CIA. Everyone knows that the CIA, the largest and most efficient Spy organization in this country, is credited with starting the Vietnam aggressive war — the way

in Korea, Latin America and other places in the world where America's mighty army has killed more non-whites and more black and white boys during the past 3-years than has been killed in the history of the world.

CIA also hires more Foreign Diplomats as spies. First they get them into compromising positions and threaten them. Not so long ago they sent in an African national to threaten an African Diplomat. The national said the Diplomat, could have killed him, but just shot into the ceiling. The Diplomat was not worth killing. First he lost favor with his country and the blacks in this country. He left his African wife and took upon himself a white woman — who was and has always been in the pay of the CIA. They then made him a full fledged CIA spy. He does not travel with his white wife — but he is in the payroll of the CIA.

This African Diplomat, appointed a white man as a Counsel General in one of the large cities. There are thousands of African Nationals from his own country in this country who could have filled the position. No, he at the insistence of his white wife and the CIA gang hell bent upon getting the wealth, diamonds, etc. of his country, appointed the white Council General to represent his, a black African country which is supposed to be independent. Death is too good for this skunk. His white wife is an efficient SPY — his half-white children will also be good spies and destroy black Africa. Thus, we submit that it is the responsibility of the African women to kill him if he comes back to his home. If he does not, way-lay him and kill him in this country — but the black African nigger must be killed.

This Black African "nigger" represents a country of people who have suffered under the British, French, Belgian and other Eastern European countries — they know what suffering is. He comes with a white woman to re-enslave them under Neo-Colonialism. During the 18th century, the white man and abused

them beyond. Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001000010001-2

of most blacks today. In the 19th century, comes the white women to enslave them from her bedroom.

An African Diplomat who brings a white woman to the United States to encourage black students as well as African students to follow his lead, must be killed. A man or woman who sells out his race and country should be killed.

Dead men do no damage, nor do they cause trouble. Our motto is to kill them. This responsibility lies with the woman . . . she brought the "Skunks" into the world and who better than she, is or could relieve him of the life she gave him.

In the case of the American black man, after all he does not represent anything and for the most part, he does not have brains enough to even respect himself, less talk of respecting his women. That is the problem facing the American Black woman who helped some black men to become doctors, lawyers, and now PHD's to teach in colleges.

The moment they got to the stage they could earn a decent living, allowing the women who helped him, remain home, be a lady, care for his children, the Skunk leaves her and her children to marry a white woman.

In other words, the high salary, good living is too good for a black woman. She finds herself in the position of having to work, continue working to feed and educate her children, while he lives in comfort with his new found slavery. Next week we will discuss the United States Postal Service, Los Angeles branch, and its discrimination against the Herald-Dispatch. There is a possibility that the Herald-Dispatch will file suit against local postal authorities who have formed a conspiracy with Virginia Levitte of BBB. Purpose kill the only voice Blacks in L.A. have.

Note Postal workers, the neo-Nazies have refused to permit sale of Herald — on Federal P.O. grounds — violation of the Constitution.

20 May 1971

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# CIA Operates at

By Bill Evers

It used to be generally thought that the leading institutions of American society had separate proper spheres of activity. The tradition of separation of church and state and the conflict between town and gown were aspects of this institutional "separation of powers."

But with increased fusion of governmental activity with industrial activity during the Progressive era and the New Deal and the rise of the military-industrial complex after the Second World War, the actions of the major institutions of American society came to be joined and co-ordinated at the top levels of their hierarchical structures.

This new institutional configuration found its apologists in academia, who found the modern Leviathan to be an inevitable fact of life and considered it at the same time to be the best of all possible worlds.

Nonetheless, the inhabitants of the Multiversity, or in Clark Kerr's phrase, "the federal grant university," continued to have certain antiquated self-conceptions of their activities.

In 1966 when the news media broke stories which detailed the cooperation between the CIA and Michigan State University, panic broke out in academia.

## Stanford Agitation

Stanford was no exception. The lead story in the *Stanford Daily* of May 3, 1966, began: "Armed with pickets declaring 'The Winds of Freedom Get Hotter All the Time,' 'The University and the CIA Have No Common Business,' and 'Come to the Inner City—Find the CIA,' approximately 35 students and faculty members gathered outside the office of Associate Provost for Research Hubert Jeffner shortly after 1 p.m. yesterday. The group distributed statements protesting the Electrical Engineering Department's contract with the Central Intelligence Agency."

Professor William Rambo's CIA contract came with him when he moved from Harvard to Stanford. He was working on electromagnetic propagation, one of whose uses is over-the-horizon radar. In order to conceal from the University community the subject matter and the funding agency for Rambo's contract, in the words of Professor Pierre Noyes of SLAC, "the President of the University, and one or two others in the Administration who had appropriate security clearance had been informed of the CIA sponsorship, and had arranged a dummy entry on the [University] budget to cover the contract, whose significance could not be traced outside of this closed circle."

## Second Contract

In an interview with the *Daily* in the spring of 1966, President Wallace Sterling said that there were two CIA contracts at Stanford. The first was for research on the communication and educational television satellites for Brazil, India, and Indonesia. Wilson, however, was section

# Stanford

STATINTL

a CIA front. Sterling told the *Daily* that the contract "came from a cover which we had no reason at the time to think was a cover for the CIA." More precise information as to the nature of this research project and the names of the researchers has not yet been uncovered.

At that time, according to what CIA employee Kennedy Lunt "Ken" Wilson told his fellow Stanford students in casual conversations, there were a total of five or six persons working for the CIA and going to school at Stanford, with a similar contingent at UC Berkeley.

Independent confirmation that CIA employees attend Stanford comes from a student contemporary of Wilson's, Garry Quinn, who was an employee of the Department of Defense International Security Agency while attending Stanford, and who told fellow students about a CIA employee who was studying at Stanford financed jointly by grants from the government and the Ford Foundation. In recent years, Vice Provost Robert Rosenzweig has told me on two separate occasions that there are CIA employees at Stanford.

Wilson, electrical engineering major and CIA employee, worked separately from Professor William Rambo, who held the CIA contract the students and professors were protesting on Inner Quad. Wilson took courses in engineering and economic systems and in radio science. He obtained an M.S. from the University in 1966, but stayed on through academic years 1966-67 and 1967-68. While he was here he lived off campus at 2439 Burnham in Palo Alto, and pursued academic subjects which aided his regular CIA work of reviewing foreign technical journals. Wilson now lives in Falls Church, Virginia (a suburb of Washington, D.C.), at 7415 Venice Street.

## Teaching Stint

During academic year 1966-67, Wilson was for a short while a teaching assistant for Engineering 235, taught by Professor Bruce Lusignan. As a result, the "Acknowledgements" page in the final report of the Advanced System for Communication and Education in National Development project, issued in June 1967, states: "The members of Engineering 235 wish to thank Dr. Bruce Lusignan, Dr. William Bollay, Dr. Jean Mayers, Hunt Small, Al Horley, and Ken Wilson for their interest, guidance, and tactful direction throughout the ASCEND project."

Wilson was originally teaching the section on "Political and Economic Factors and Programming" of Engineering 235, which is the regular "project course" of the School of Engineering. That year the course topic was communication and educational television satellites for Brazil, India, and Indonesia. Wilson, however, was section

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continued

# New Md. U. Curbs Authorized

By LANCE GAY  
and JAMES B. ROWLAND  
Star Staff Writers

Gov. Marvin Mandel today gave National Guard officials authority to ban anyone from the troubled University of Maryland campus and expel any troublemakers already there.

The emergency proclamation was issued in Annapolis as reports circulated that students were planning to take over one or more buildings at College Park.

There were reports that activist Rennie Davis, whose speech on campus Wednesday preceded by hours a student blockade of U.S. Route 1 by students, was en route to the campus.

University officials have suspended six student activists and barred two nonstudents from the campus in the aftermath of the demonstration on Route 1.

Dr. Charles E. Bishop, College Park chancellor, made the announcement last night, but declined to identify the persons. However, he said, all eight were among those arrested and charged with assault Wednesday night.

These actions were taken to thwart any attempt by activists to again mass a rock-and-bottle-hurling mob like the 3,000 who swarmed onto U.S. Route 1 Wednesday night and blocked traffic.

The move also is in line with the state's strategy of acting swiftly and decidedly against any protest which shows signs

of escalating like last year's mass demonstrations that caused nearly \$100,000 in damage at College Park, state officials said.

## Campus Quieter

Except for a few rallies, the campus was quiet yesterday and students quietly were going to classes or lolling on the grassy mall. Last night, most of the contingent of 1,000 National Guardsmen were withdrawn to a nearby staging area in Greenbelt, although troops still were visible on parts of the campus.

Late last night, elements of the radical Students for a Democratic Society attempted to enter the Computer Science Center with the reported purpose of damaging the center's 1103 computer. They contended that the center handles unclassified projects for the Central Intelligence Agency and the U.S. Army.

## Departure Ordered

However, after about a dozen of the militants had managed to slip unnoticed into the building, Guardsmen and university police appeared and told them that there were too many people inside and, because of fire regulations, they would have to leave.

Radicals then held a rally in a nearby women's dormitory and about 100 students assembled voted to attempt to take over a building today.

Most agreed that Wednesday's tactic of blocking the four-lane boulevard which bisects the campus was a mistake and that

they would not engage in "cops and students" activities again today. A noon rally was scheduled in an effort to draw sympathetic students and non-students into today's effort.

Another aim of the militants is to precipitate an action which will bring most of the university's 32,000 students out on strike. "We have to stop the university from being used as a function of the ruling class for carrying out their imperialist policies," Karyn Pomerant, a College Park student, told the group.

However, the administration has maintained that the university will remain open for the remainder of the the spring semester.

Phil Kapneck, special adviser on student affairs to Mandel, said in a statement to the student body today. "What did you gain yesterday (Wednesday)? Nothing. I promise you Route 1 and the university will remain open."

As workmen yesterday replaced administration building windows shattered by rocks during the previous night's violence, some 400 students gathered on the cement front steps to protest the arrest of four students leaders.

The four were seized near Cole Field House for allegedly blocking traffic and disrupting classes by using a bullhorn. They had been traveling around the campus using the bullhorn to make statements against ROTC on campus.

After leaders of the group threatened to sit in Bishop's office until the four were released, Bishop told the group that charges would be dropped and the four would be dealt with under the university's disciplinary code.

## 4 Address Crowd

The four, who were taken to the Prince Georges County police substation in Hyattsville, later returned to the university and addressed the crowd.

"We were arrested like something out of the Gestapo of Nazi Germany," Mark Woodard of Silver Spring told the group on the administration building steps.

"They let us out because of you," he said, referring to the demonstrators on the steps. "We're going to shut down this school — throw ROTC off campus once and for all," he shouted.

The 400 students then surged down a side street to the nearby Rossborough Inn, site of the faculty club, where Bishop's aides earlier said the chancellor would hold a press conference.

The young people jammed into the conference room only to hear that Bishop would not be present. Thomas Day, vice chancellor for academic planning, told them that the rally on the steps of the administration building did not have any effect on the decision not to press charges.

## CIA, FBI cooperation alleged

## Faculty 'spies' condemned

By BEN OEHLER

The University should publicly declare intelligence gathering incompatible with the academic community, according to one of the nine professors who last week alleged routine faculty cooperation with the CIA and the FBI.

Speaking during a panel discussion in Coffman yesterday, Erwin Marquit, associate professor of physics, helped give the first public disclosure of academic collusion with civilian intelligence agencies.

Marquit spoke of a "worldwide strategy" to subvert democratic institutions in the name of anti-communism, and read New York Times accounts of several instances of CIA subversion abroad. American scholarship and research have been "made difficult" by the CIA's use of academic research as a cover for its international activities, he said.

In a statement published last week on behalf of the Faculty Action Caucus, it was alleged that faculty members who travel overseas to international academic or professional conferences are likely to be contacted by CIA or FBI agents and asked if they will agree to be interviewed by the agents.

If granted, such an interview usually consists of a briefing of what the particular agency is interested in and what the faculty member should watch for on his trip. While some faculty members

decline to be briefed before their journey abroad, post-journey debriefings are frequent.

He said that the greatest problem for faculty is the conflict between scholarliness and intelligence-gathering. He questioned whether scholars of different nations can meet with free and open relationships if one or both have dual purposes.

"If I take a trip to the Soviet Union, is it for me as a scholar or for me as an agent? Am I given funds for my scholarship or my spying?"

The secret involvement of the CIA in international conferences threatens the progress of international cooperation between scholars, he said.

The fear of loss of funding and research opportunities often forces faculty members to compromise, he said. Those who refuse lose out. "In some cases University administrators have been asked to help pinpoint cooperative faculty members," he said.

"We should take the administration off the hook by declaring any intelligence gathering incompatible with the academic community. There is no protection. I was approached to talk about one of my advisers. How can I tell them to be free and open in the classroom. This is what a faculty member faces when there is no University policy."

Morton Hamermesh, head of the Physics department did not share Marquit's zeal for a policy statement solution to the problem. Hamermesh, in fact, did not

share Marquit's assessment of the danger of the problem.

The greatest problem, Hamermesh said, "is that the CIA is so god-awful inefficient — wasting the tax payers' money for information which they could obtain for a pittance. Most of the information is public," he said.

Hamermesh called himself "an expert on Russian physics" and said therefore that he had had frequent inquiries from intelligence. "I don't think that I have ever been asked a question that I could not answer openly."

Eugene Eidenberg, assistant vice president for administration and author of the recently released report on military surveillance, also was opposed to administrative policies prohibiting cooperation with intelligence units.

He emphasized that information held by the University should be released only under the strictest of guidelines and that there should be no secret intelligence gathering. But he said that cooperation of individual faculty members "must be a matter of personal judgement."

"Our reaction is to close the institution up as tight as we can. I would urge great caution. We can not relate with our environment if we shut off avenues of communication to the outside by telling faculty what to do," Eidenberg said.

Eidenberg said that since some intelligence gathering is justifiable, the only solution is to demand full public disclosure of operations as they exist.

STATINTL

9 Mar 1971

Panel Discussion  
**FACULTY  
COOPERATION  
with  
INTELLIGENCE  
AGENCIES**

Panel Members:

Romeyn Taylor, Assoc. Prof. History  
Morton Hamermesh, Head of Physics Dept.  
Erwin Marquit, Assoc. Prof. Physics  
Eugene Eidenberg, Asst. V.P. for Academic Admini-  
stration

**12:30 WED., MARCH 10**

**Coffman Main Ballroom  
UBOG**



5 Mar 1971

## Self-defense

The charge made in Tuesday's Daily by several members of the Faculty Action Caucus (FAC) that CIA and FBI agents have routinely (and clandestinely) used University faculty members as information sources is only the latest in a three month-long series of surveillance-related revelations. Yet it is perhaps the most serious because faculty collusion with secretive intelligence agencies, as the FAC statement says, "threatens the principles of academic freedom to which the University is committed."

One of the most disturbing aspects of the allegation is that it was made by faculty members who say they are not engaged in classified work. It is based exclusively on knowledge of cooperation between agents and professors in areas open to the public.

Nearly all of these professors, however, are extremely reluctant to disclose specific information about their contacts with intelligence agents. They have allegedly been warned not to disclose their cooperation with agents to anyone. Yet they are doing work only in fields in which their knowledge is easily accessible.

If government intelligence agents feel compelled to keep their contacts secret with these faculty members, how must they conduct their work with other University staff members who are doing classified work of much more importance to the agencies? That is a difficult question to answer but a logical one to ask.

Faculty cooperation with intelligence agencies in the pursuit of devious, or at best obscure goals is repugnant behavior that demeans the purpose and threatens the integrity of the University.

A faculty member approached by an agent can assume that he has been subjected to some sort of political screening to determine if he is a safe prospect. What about professors who are haphazardly categorized as unreliable? Are they then considered potential subversives and placed under surveillance? And the faculty members who are asked to consent to "talks" with agents obviously must comply or risk being labeled "disloyal".

Such pressures are hard to resist.

The University has an obligation and a duty to protect itself from this kind of manipulation.

The special committee on surveillance on campus should recognize the importance of this problem and attempt to dissect it scrupulously. If only in self-defense, the University must act to protect itself from intelligence agencies that have run amuck.

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# Intelligence agents in academic cloaks

STATINTL

Editor's note: the following statement is intended by its authors to provoke debate on academic collusion with government intelligence agencies. It is their hope that open discussion of the matter will lead to the formulation of University policy that would prohibit such activity. The statement was written on behalf of the Faculty Action Caucus by: Lenore Burgard (CLA), John Dahler (chemical engineering), Clayton Giese (physics), J. Woods Halley (physics), Erwin Marquit (physics), Grover Maxwell (philosophy), Martin Roth (English), Matthew Stark (Student Activities Bureau) and Donald Swanson (classics).

The activities of military intelligence agents on campus have been receiving much attention, but a far greater threat to the University comes from other intelligence agencies. Informal discussions indicate that perhaps a third of University faculty members who have attended international conferences abroad or who have traveled abroad in connection with their academic interests have, at some time, been briefed or debriefed by the CIA or FBI before or after their trips. Last summer, for example, two related international conferences were held in the Soviet Union. Despite the fact that there is no classified research going on either in the United States or in the Soviet Union in this particular field (elementary particles) many of the U.S. participants were visited by the CIA or FBI. As a matter of fact the question of whether a conference deals with fields involving classified research appears to be unrelated to the intelligence agencies' interest in it. History, sociology, medicine, English, as well as physics, engineering and computer science are only some of the departments that have come under the eye of the CIA.

The broad involvement of the University in intelligence activities not only leads to violations of academic freedom, but does

great harm to the national interest by creating obstacles to international cultural and scientific exchange.

Consider what must be involved when an agency such as the CIA is interested in obtaining some information from an international conference. The CIA must decide whether to brief selected faculty participants (whose discretion and cooperation can be relied upon) in advance of the conference, or depend primarily on a large-scale debriefing afterwards, or a combination of both. It is precisely here that information accumulated about individuals through surveillance, questioning of colleagues and superiors, and compilations of names of petition signers, contributors to causes, etc., plays an important role. Suppose, for example, the CIA asks a department chairman, as it has been known to do, if one of the members of his department will cooperate with them. Any definitive answer to such a question is necessarily tantamount to a political characterization of the faculty member under discussion, at least as far as the CIA and its fraternal agencies are concerned. Refusal to answer or deliberate ambiguity in the answer will lead to a political characterization of the chairman and possibly the entire department as hostile, or, at best, politically naive (with possible broader repercussions).

Is this a legitimate burden for department chairmen to carry? Should not the University have a clear-cut position on such matters? What about the faculty member who is asked to supply information to the intelligence agency? While many would prefer not to have any dealings with such agencies, it takes a good deal of courage to refuse. Does not the University have the duty to shield the faculty from such pressures, especially in the case of those who depend heavily on federal funds for research and junior, inexperienced faculty who feel that their entire careers may be jeopardized by a "wrong" attitude?

Perhaps the more serious question is the impact intelligence activities have on the atmosphere at international gatherings, the impediments they place to the development of international collaboration and free exchange of information in all fields. When this question was raised with one Midwest

senator, he replied 1) that the CIA has been routinely debriefing American scholars after they return from East-bloc countries since the end of World War II and that the Soviets are fully aware of it; 2) that they do it more than we; and 3) that the information we gain is of tremendous value. All three points warrant close scrutiny.

It is well known that the CIA's activities extend well beyond the limits of what in official parlance is called East-bloc countries. In fact, University faculty have been debriefed after visits to Western Europe and Asia as well, e.g. France and India, on matters unrelated to East-bloc affairs. With all its sordid history, one would have to be extremely naive to believe that the CIA would have any moral scruples about briefing someone prior to going abroad on matters it was interested in. People have, in fact, been contacted by the CIA before going abroad.

It must be kept in mind, however, that most faculty members who agree to take part in CIA debriefings do not consider themselves as engaging in espionage, as they feel would be the case if they were to be briefed before going abroad. As one faculty member put it: "I wouldn't allow myself to be briefed before going abroad, but I will talk to anyone when I get back."

The inconsistency of this position becomes obvious with a little thought. Imagine that in one of its game sessions, the CIA is considering the possibility that during a military coup in India bullock carts can be used to tie up traffic in New Delhi to prevent "loyal" units from coming to the aid of the government. As a result of this discussion it is concluded that more information is needed on bullock-cart traffic in that city. Suppose now that you are planning to attend a conference in India and the CIA informed you that they would like to speak to you about your forthcoming trip. You now reply that you prefer not to talk to them at this time, but will be glad to answer any questions upon your return. They thank you for your cooperative attitude and indicate that they will contact you upon your return. Off you go to your conference in India. During a break in the proceedings, you strike up a casual conversation with an Indian colleague. You inform him of the CIA's interest in your trip. Further, you indicate that upon your return a CIA agent will visit you (and your colleagues) in your office with a briefcase containing a tape-recorder and proceed to ask you a series of questions covering a wide range of matters. You then indicate to your Indian host that he might exercise some caution in his conversation with you, since you have no way of knowing what type of information the U.S. government is interested in, nor for what purpose it is to be used.

You indicate that you are under a moral obligation to speak to these people upon your return, not only because you are a U.S. citizen (although noncitizens have been contacted too), but also because the U.S. government paid for your trip, directly or indirectly. You further state that you assure that this information will never be used to the harm of India, but that you would be abusing his country's hospitality

if you failed to caution him. Imagine the pall that would be cast over the conference if this were the case. The conferences were conducted.

On the other hand, if you know that you are likely to be visited by the CIA on your return and fail to warn your Indian host of this, would you not be engaging in a shrouded form of espionage? Can you ever establish a sincere friendly relationship with others when a secret like this stands between you? Is this not akin to tape-recording a conversation without the other person's knowledge? Can this ever be reconciled with our concepts of academic integrity?

The situation is not changed by the bland assertion that everyone knows the CIA engages in such activities. If these activities are out in the open, why is the matter not discussed publicly? If, as is often stated, the government must resort to such tactics just to obtain information which is normally public knowledge in this country, why must the answers be tape-recorded (the person being debriefed is usually not informed of the recording)? If everything is so innocuous why are not the questions and answers sent through the mails? The fact that this activity has been going on for some time does not add to its legitimacy any more than the fact that the University police maintained files with political information since the McCarthy era affects the legitimacy of their being established in the first place.

The increasing dependence of the government on the CIA for implementing its foreign policy explains the apparent escalation in CIA activity both in the scope of its interest and the frequency with which faculty is contacted. The argument that other countries engage in intelligence activity more than we do is very easy to advance, but, of course, difficult to prove. If we keep in mind the fact that the CIA is one of the nation's major employers (tens of thousands of employees, American and foreign, according to New York Times estimates), one can question whether other countries can afford to maintain so large an intelligence establishment. After all, our military establishment receives more money, our space program receives more money, we have more nonmilitary employees overseas than any other country in the world. Why should one expect our intelligence establishment not to be first too? (Because gentlemen do not read other people's mail, perhaps?)

But even if questions of academic freedom, the future of international cultural and scientific exchange and even fundamental questions of relationships between governments were not involved, one can still challenge whether the information the intelligence agencies obtain from its agents in academic cloaks is even worth the funds consumed in analyzing it (all those tape-recordings of long-winded professors!). It is now 25 years since the end of World War II and not a shred of evidence has ever been presented to justify the large-scale use of professors for gathering information at

conferences. Perhaps the anthropologist can discover some mountain tribe that could be used for a CIA mercenary army, but such tribesmen are not usually presenting papers at international conferences. The absence of any specific information on this subject may indicate either that no truly valuable information is obtained, or that the use to which such information is put is too repugnant to civilized norms of behavior to allow it to be released to the public.

International cultural and scientific exchange, especially between East and West, has had to overcome many obstacles. The exchange of ideas, knowledge and culture across national frontiers is widely recognized as vital to our national interests. The growth of such exchange has always encountered opposition from those who play the brinkmanship game of international politics (in which intelligence agencies are major players). If we allow the escalation of intelligence activity in the University to go unchallenged, we stand the danger of rupturing the international ties that have been so painstakingly built up over the years.

To bring about an end to University involvement in intelligence activity, the individual departments and the University Senate should adopt statements of policy declaring that supplying information gathered during international meetings or professional visits abroad to intelligence agencies is incompatible with legitimate academic activity. Faculty members should press their professional societies to adopt similar statements on the national level, as was recently done by a group of faculty in the physics department.

The administration and regents must make it clear to the federal government that the use of University by intelligence agencies is harmful to the national interest and can only interfere with the University fulfilling its proper role. They should also make every effort to enlist the aid of the executive branches of the state government in bringing about a cessation of intelligence activity at the University by the federal government.

All bodies of the University should make it clear that supplying to intelligence agencies (or, for that matter, to any government agency) information which reflects upon the political attitudes of individual faculty members (or students) without their knowledge and agreement is not simply a matter of individual conscience. It is a most serious violation of the principles of academic freedom to which the University is committed and cannot be tolerated.

Action along these lines by the academic community of the United States could lead to a significant extension of international cultural and scientific exchange, provide encouragement to our counterparts in other countries to press for similar action and make a major contribution to the easing of international tensions.

# Faculty cooperation with CIA, FBI alleged

By NICK COLEMAN

University faculty members have routinely cooperated with civilian intelligence agencies in the gathering of information abroad, according to a statement prepared for publication today on behalf of the Faculty Action Caucus (see "Intelligence agents in academic cloaks," page 5).

While most of the attention given intelligence-gathering activities at the University recently has been focused on military and police surveillance of campus demonstrations and political organizations, the statement is the first indication that faculty members have been involved with the CIA and FBI in intelligence activities.

The statement alleges that faculty members who travel overseas to international academic or professional conferences are likely to be contacted by CIA or FBI agents and asked if they will agree to be interviewed by the agents. If granted, such an interview usually consists of a briefing of what the particular agency is interested in and what the faculty members should watch for on his trip. While some faculty members decline to be briefed before their journey abroad, post-journey debriefings are frequently granted.

Faculty collusion with intelligence agencies is, the statement argues, "incompatible with legitimate academic activity." Its authors suggest that the University Senate should adopt a policy statement "to bring about an end to University involvement in intelligence activity."

A spokesman for the FBI yesterday rejected the "implications" of the statement. "The FBI," he said, "does not routinely interview faculty members who travel abroad — unless we have some reason to believe they have information of interest to us." He said the FBI is only interested in talking to persons who have information concerning a violation of the law.

"You're talking to the wrong agency," he said, "we're a domestic agency and our responsibilities lie within the four corners of the United States."

The Minneapolis CIA office declined to comment on the statement, saying all press inquiries are handled at CIA headquarters in McLean, Va. Telephone calls there went unanswered.

Faculty members have been reticent to publicly acknowledge cooperation with the CIA or FBI, but privately admit that it does occur. They cite government funding of their work or fear of recriminations as rea-

sons for their silence. The publication of the statement, in fact, is due in part to the threatening of an uncooperative faculty member by an agent. Continued refusal to cooperate, the teacher was told, "would not be in your best interest."

While not willing to document specific instances of faculty collaboration with intelligence agencies, Martin Roth, one of the statement's authors and an associate professor of English, does say that a colleague of his was asked to work for the CIA when he went abroad. The person refused to work with the agency, Roth said, but did consent to a debriefing session upon his return.

"This can be verified," Roth said, "and it will be" if the validity of the statement is seriously challenged.

In any event, said another of the statement's principal authors Erwin Marquit, associate professor of physics, "The main issue is not to uncover specifics — but to become aware that the situation in general exists and that the University has a responsibility to the faculty and students to deal with it."

STATINTL

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# Blue Ribbon Panel endorses Viet Center

By Paula Musto and Rich Davis  
Daily Egyptian Staff Writers

The Blue Ribbon Panel's report on the Center for Vietnamese Studies, which was released by Chancellor Robert G. Laver Friday, has recommended the continuation of the Center subject to nine conditions.

The report said that despite the Center's serious problems it has the potential for developing into a viable academic program if the conditions are met.

The nine conditions are:

—The Agency for International Development (AID) grant, which funds the center, must be renegotiated to assure the academic character of the center, a clear separation from technical assistance and non-interference by AID or any other government agency.

—Both the grant and the center should be placed under the control of the Carbondale chancellor.

—The center should build a properly qualified academic staff within a reasonable time. Effort should be made to obtain the cooperation, support and participation in formulating center policy on the part of related departmental faculties.

—Formal contract stipulations should assure the academic freedom of persons employed in an academic capacity by the center or through a department or through a center-related expansion position.

—Center policies should be verbalized in a "formal operating paper" which would be available to any interested persons.

—SIU funds used by the Center (including overhead and the Journal), whether restricted or appropriated monies, should not exceed spending from the grant over the five-year period during which the grant is in force. When the grant money has been spent or returned to AID, the University should reassess its own financial commitment to the center.

—A policy committee with power to formulate policy should replace the present center advisory committee. The policy committee should be representative of SIU departments, faculty and students.

—The accomplishments of the center should be reviewed at the close of the grant's third year (in 18 months). If the review is negative the center should be disbanded.

—Future graduate student fellowships and awards through the center should follow the guidelines of the general Graduate School policies.

The report also included a section on the original negotiation for the grant by SIU officials.

Discussing the original purpose of the center, the report said that only a benign and beneficent import or the Vietnam post-war construction seems to have crossed the minds of those who negotiated the AID contract.

"The evidence available to us does not indicate that the CIA, through AID, sought out SIU and then duped it into taking on the Vietnamese Studies project," the report said.

The report went on to say that although SIU may not have been the best prepared institution for establishing the center, there is a possibility for developing a good center.

The report concluded by pointing out the necessity for SIU to set up guidelines concerning "acceptable kinds of grants" in the future.

Although the report was accepted by the entire panel, Mark Bordsen, graduate student in community development, noted he personally felt the recommendation as being only the minimum requirements of the center. Bordsen said he would prefer an immediate renunciation of the AID grant.

"By accepting AID funding, the University tends to condone morally

and politically the U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia, even if only symbolically," he said in the report.

Laver said he agreed completely with seven of the recommendations. He said although he did not disagree with having a formal operating paper for the center, the panel should explain why the present statement of goals is inadequate.

Laver said he is not sure about the recommendation to place control of the center under the Carbondale chancellor. He said it might prevent the Edwardsville campus from using some of the AID funds.

Laver said he does not think the University should wait until 18 months before reviewing the center. He suggested it be done next winter quarter for financial reasons, allowing early planning for the 1973-74 budget.

As for the renegotiation of the grant, which is scheduled next month, Laver said AID officials will have to accept it if the center is to stay at SIU.

"If they can't accept it, then I say give it up," he said.

The panel, established last summer by then-acting chancellor Willis Malone, consisted of five faculty and three student members.

Faculty members were Willis Moore, co-chairman and chairman of the philosophy department; Lewis E. Hahn, research professor in philosophy; C. Addison Hickman, chairman of the economics department; Randall C. Nelson, chairman of the government department; and Nicholas Vergettes, professor of art.

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## UCSD Faculty Requests End To 'Secret' Research Projects

The Academic Senate of the University of California at San Diego is asking an end to classified or "secret" research, including that funded by such federal agencies as the Defense Department and the Central Intelligence Agency.

In approving a resolution requesting this, the senate said research programs should be judged on the basis of their content and service to the university and the public, rather than on the needs of an agency seeking the research.

### Fund Report Asked

In a companion resolution, the senate requested the Office of Graduate Studies to provide an annual report on the amount, source and nature of research funding on the campus.

"This report should serve to indicate the degree to which freedom of research is being maintained for the faculty," the resolution said.

The senate, which represents the university's 454-member faculty, asked for less reliance on "mission ori-

ented research . . . research in which the funding agency demands specific results and sometimes severely circumscribes the methods to be used by the researcher," said Dr. Gabriel Jackson, chairman of the senate.

### 8-Month Study Cited

Jackson said such limitations often interfere with the "unfettered pursuit of truth which must always be the main objective of a professor engaged in research."

The action comes after an eight-month study of research being conducted at UCSD.

Dr. Herbert Stern, chairman of the 10-member study committee, said no UCSD students work in classified or restricted research.

However, he said some professors are working on classified projects, most of which are for the Navy.

### Reasoning Explained

"The question was whether military funded research programs were distorting the purpose of the university," Stern

said. "No student can be educated in graduate school if that education is in a classified area, since under those circumstances, work would not be open to inspection."

Stern emphasized it was not just defense oriented and military-funded projects that concerned the faculty, but all types of research.

The faculty senate is concerned because there is "an emphasis on immediate visible products of research . . . making the university purely interested in technology," he explained.

### Grants Total \$39 Million

In 1969-70, UCSD had about \$39 million in all types of research grants and contracts.

Jackson also said the "overwhelming majority" of about 100 faculty members attending the Senate meeting favored the end of restricted projects because "the university voluntarily surrenders to an outside agency the power to determine who will be permitted to work on the research and who will learn of its results."